

184 cont. /

- 1396 the Uru are obliged to keep up with an incessant demand. They have veritable maritime shipyards on the steep bank of the Desaguadero, where constant activity reigns (Pl. IV, A /see p. 24/). Each family owns a portion of the bank, whose limits are marked by small walls. Within these enclosures they heap the titora from which the balsas are made. This plant (Cyperaceae, of the genus Scirpus) (Scirpus titora, Kunth.) forms actual fields in the swamps which line the Titicaca. The Indians come to cut it as they need it. "Every family that owns a field near the shore considers itself the owner of a certain expanse of these titorales. It is the only family to exploit this area, and its rights are respected by the neighbors (1)."

[13]

1. Parodi (Lorenzo R.). "Las balsas usadas por los aymaras en el lago Titicaca /The Balsas Used by the Aymaras on Lake Titicaca/," Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. XI (Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145-149.

396
124

It is a picturesque spectacle to see the Indians who went in search of titora return; the cut stalks have been tied together into huge bundles which are allowed to float like a train of wood after being secured to the rear of the balsa (Pl. III, A /see p. 23/).

The titora can be used only when it is dry. Hence, after having gathered it the Indians' first concern is to spread it out in their enclosures. They also make faggots out of it by standing the stalks upright to expose them to the wind and sun. It is only when it has lost all dampness that the titora can be used to construct balsas. Its thickness is thereby diminished, its immediate rotting prevented, and, above all, the possibility that the bundles which constitute the balsa might disintegrate because of a loss in volume is avoided.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/124 cont./

697 This form, seen in two or three
 344 other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had
 477 traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break
 with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in
 use among the Aymara.

692 /125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori,
 486 of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to
 people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him
 more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a
 paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

692 His authority extended no farther. The Chipaya would have
 had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more
 timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had
 fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred
 on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The
 fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences
 622 must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in
 contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence
 of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their
 duties.

623 There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets
 486 to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole
 tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an inci-
 dent which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya,
 which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is
 regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or
 returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by
 the timidity of the Chipaya, let their animals graze on the lands
 belonging to the latter and irrigated by their effort. The Chipaya
 decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in
 compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers
 692 in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that
 was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he
 called together the majority of the adult men of the village around
 his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the
 Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

/161 cont./

233

The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231

It is rather strange that the Chipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Chipaya have.

[235]

[242]

241

[233]

Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring them the Chipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinua) (in Uro-Chipaya: knula) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañagua).

The cultivated plots (okxila), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the saya, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

● [203]

Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the cure and under the responsibility of the sicaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Chipaya practice crop rotation.

[242]

The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

/180/

Remarks

*539
132 The Uru build dams or totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the hake, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (6-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

*539
193 1. ti-ki or simply -ki, a particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. pi-a-pi-a, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb hake hake has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Kolla form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala-Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara; "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Iru
Comments on photographs by Manuel Iru

(See p. 164 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539
142 1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

[19th Century]

[195] /36 cont./ There is another Pueblo four leagues
[196] east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
[197] resplendent, skillful, courteous.... these Indians came from
other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become
masters of these Uru, but he could not (as neither could the
religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat
less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[199] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their
lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness
of the weeds) go to save Indians of over 20 and 40 years of age
who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

[200] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.... They
[201] are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
[202] a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
[203] and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
[204] knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a
refrain: "From the Uru Indian, no man is safe...."/Translated
from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[205] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uru of
[206] Titicaca under the name of Ochozuma. These Indians were
centered in the utera beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/
and on the small island of Similiske.

• [207] ...They are lords of this utera bed, they have it all
[208] defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
[209] throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, un-
aware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the utera bed, as we
shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
[210] cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds,
[211] robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, steal-
ing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their
hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great,
they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the
pueblo of Guasqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacajes, so
that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms
was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The Chipeya eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 Chipeya in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The Chipeya kinship system, like that of the Uru, is much influenced by the Aymara. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All Chipeya, without exception, are bilingual and speak Aymara fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak Uru only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely Aymarized.

RELIGION

The religion of the Chipeya does not differ from that of the Aymara of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the Chipeya than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipeya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

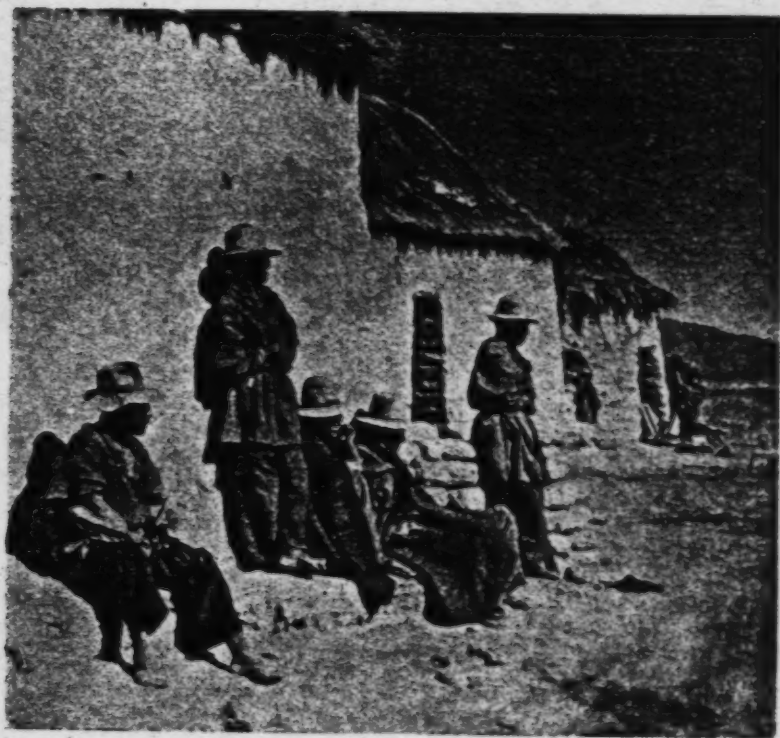
The main Chipeya deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*maliku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maliku, Kemperani-maliku, Estewan-maliku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Illaua River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maliku). The *camiri* are sacred stone fetiches on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-maliku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cult.—The most important Chipeya deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malikus* and saints, but is associated with every Chipeya ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found. 144

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara beliefs and rites, has been preserved in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally 171
718
719



Group of Chipaya Indians.—Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia. 291
516

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church. 718

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation 114
115

[English text continues on p. 219]

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

- 1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.
- 2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.
- 3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.
- 4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.
- 5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.
- 6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.
- 7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

[p 218]

[P20-6]

Chipaya

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves. 618 619 620

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tole*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds. 333 340 352 617

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes. 203 204



Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather on occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuno* flour. 210 211 212

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or *mita*, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty to nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the families by the head of each *mita*. 422 423

161 Nasacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a
 361 little n. of 17° s. lat.; Simiñaque, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero,
 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, how-
 ever, spoke Aymará); and Sojapata, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero,
 in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the
 Uru"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that
 "In 1873 there existed the Uro haciendas of Chearaque, Taguan, Tacacatani,
 Chicani-uma, Machacomarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayamponi, and
 Tocavi [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps Taguan
 (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero
 numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This
 figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may
 have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.²

162 In March 1938⁴ the population of Ancoaqui (*hanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará
 621 "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *comunidad*
 101 of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the
 native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *comunidad*,⁵ from "alcalde") for
 the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past pu-
 berty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to
 agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at
 Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.⁵

162 This Aymára *comunidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru
 361 town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of
 the Provincia de Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south,
 and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold
 on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui
 and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference
 of a thousand meters.

[103] ² José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Perú y Bolivia* (Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1901, 10: 445-482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenes de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sur, La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of Chucuito." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; Chucuito, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[114] ⁴ As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Aymára ethnography.

⁵ Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "*comunidad*" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "*Comunidad*"—as opposed to the term "*fincas*" (= "*estancia*," "*hacienda*") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.